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THE URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT AND PAKISTAN'S TRADE IN TEXTILES AND CLOTHING

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1. Introduction

The Uruguay Round (UR), which marked the conclusion of protracted multilateral trade negotiations, resulted in comprehensive agreements on multilateral trade in goods and services within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The newly created World Trade Organization (WTO) provides an institutional framework that encompasses all the agreements and legal instruments negotiated in the UR as well as the dispute settlement procedures and provisions for the regular monitoring of policies of the member countries. The UR agreement has been widely perceived as constituting a major advance in the process of multilateral liberalization of trade in goods and services and, when fully implemented, is expected to improve economic efficiency and welfare from the global, national and sectoral standpoints. An important feature of the UR agreement is the incorporation of new sectors like textile and clothing within the ambit of the GATT/WTO framework. In view of the fact that the textile and clothing industry is one of the few sectors in which developing countries enjoy a distinct comparative advantage over industrial countries, the UR agreement holds considerable significance for developing economies like Pakistan.

The present paper seeks to explore the implications of the Uruguay Round agreement for Pakistan's trade in textile and clothing. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief overview of the textile and clothing industry in Pakistan. Section 3 describes the restrictive trade policies concerning textile and clothing exports from developing economies in the pre-UR period. Section 4 delineates major elements of the UR agreement on textile and clothing (ATC). Section 5 spells out opportunities and challenges for the textile and clothing sector in Pakistan in the post Uruguay Round period; and section 6 concludes the discussion.

2. The Textile and Clothing Industry in Pakistan

The textile and clothing sector is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy. With a 30 per cent share in the value added of the manufacturing sector, the textile and clothing industry accounts for about 8 per cent of the GDP and employs 40 per cent of the workforce in the manufacturing sector. The industry started from almost non-existence in 1947 with a meagre size of 78000 spindles and 3000 looms, and that too largely in the unorganized sector. Since then, the industry has made substantial progress, especially in the spinning sub-sector, and now has 442 units, 8.3 million spindles and 10 thousand looms.

Table 1
Key Indicators of Textile Industry

	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99
Number of Mills	336	503	503	439	442
Installed Capacity (000 Numbers)					
Spindles	8298	8709	8176	8325	8356
Rotors	132	142	143	145	146
Looms	14	14	10	10	10
Working Capacity (000 Numbers)					
Spindles	6023	6679	6455	6566	6579
Rotors	83	89	89	83	69
Looms	6	5	5	5	5
Working Capacity as a % of Installed Capacity					
Spindles	72.6	76.7	79.0	78.9	78.7
Rotors	62.9	62.7	62.2	57.2	47.3
Looms	42.9	35.7	50.0	50.0	50.0
Yarn Production (mln kg)	1369.7	1495.0	1520.8	1532.3	895.7
Cloth Production (mln.sq.meters)	321.8	327.0	333.5	340.3	220.5

Source: Government of Pakistan: *Economy Survey 1998-99.*

Growth in the size of textile industry has been mixed: the number of mills and spindles more than doubled during the period 1972-73 to 1998-99, whereas the number of looms fell by more than half during the same period (see appendix). Total production of yarn and cloth as well as capacity utilization of spindles and rotors registered positive growth rates during the fifties and the sixties. The rapid expansion of this industry during these decades was facilitated by the price advantage that Pakistan enjoyed in cotton textiles, due mainly to the domestic availability of raw cotton and cheap labour. Fiscal incentives, high rates of protection and export subsidies further enhanced the profitability of investment in this industry. However, in sharp contrast with its performance in the preceding decades, production in this industry either stagnated or declined during the seventies, and the industry remained under stress in the following decades. This is particularly evident in the case of cloth production, which consistently registered negative average annual growth rates during the period from 1970 to 1998.

It is, however, noteworthy that despite its lacklustre performance in recent years, the textile and clothing industry continues to occupy a leading position in the trade structure of the country, accounting for more than 50 per cent of its manufactured exports.

Table 2

Structure of Pakistan's Exports of Textiles & Clothing

Million US$

	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98
Textiles	2167.7	2698.4	2904.4	2750.5	2483.4
Cotton Yarn	1259.3	1528.1	1540.3	1411.5	1159.5
Cotton Thread	4.0	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.8
Cotton Cloth	820.6	1081.4	1275.9	1262.4	1250.3
Cotton Bags	17.3	19.1	24.6	27.6	23.1
Cotton Waste	62.1	63.2	57.2	41.8	42.2
Waste Material of Textile Fabrics	4.4	4.7	4.9	5.5	6.5
Clothing	1694.8	2016.9	2166.8	2320.6	2456.0
Towels	129.2	144.8	174.1	194.1	200.1
Made up Articles	415.0	503.7	601.3	665.0	754.61
Tents & Canvas	29.2	38.2	39.5	36.2	58.1
Readymade Garments	612.2	641.7	648.5	736.4	746.5
Hosiery	509.2	688.5	703.4	688.9	696.7
Textiles and Clothing	3862.5	4715.3	5071.2	5071.1	4939.4
Total Exports	6803.0	8137.0	8707.0	8320.0	8628.0
Textiles and Clothing as a % of Total Exports	56.8	57.9	58.2	61.0	57.2
Textiles and Clothing as a % of GDP	7.6	7.8	8.6	8.3	7.9
Total Exports as a % of GDP	13.0	13.3	13.5	13.5	13.5

Source: Government of Pakistan: Pakistan's Foreign Trade Key Indicators 1997-98.

According to Table 2, Pakistan's exports of textiles increased from USD 2167.7 million in 1993-94 to USD 2904.4 million in 1995-96, and then declined to USD 2483.4 million in 1997-98. Cotton yarn and cotton cloth constitute a major proportion of textile exports. Exports of clothing showed an increasing trend during the period under consideration, rising from USD 1694.8 million in 1993-94 to USD 2456 million in 1997-98. The share of textile and clothing in total exports stood at 61 per cent in 1996-97 and declined slightly to 57.2 per cent in 1997-98.

Table 3
Destination-wise Exports of Textile and Clothing: 1997-98

Million US$

	Cotton Yarn	Cotton Fabrics	Readymade Garments	Hosiery	Made-ups Excluding Bedwears & Towels	Bedwears	Towels
North America	64.4	192.6	360.3	408.9	140.3	116.7	100.3
Europe	109.4	332.1	286.2	223.1	82.9	258	64.4
Australia	-	57.4	-	-	2.7	14.5	-
Middle East	40.2	65.4	29.2	13	-	16.4	-
Asia	769.4	96.7	-	-	-	-	-
Other	176.1	506.1	70.8	51.7	19.9	103.2	35.4
				Percentage Shares			
North America	5.55	15.40	48.27	58.69	57.08	22.94	50.12
Europe	9.44	26.56	38.34	32.02	33.73	50.71	32.18
Australia		7.69			1.10	2.85	
Middle East	3.47	5.23	3.91	1.87		3.22	
Asia	66.36	7.73					
Other	15.19	40.48	9.48	7.42	8.10	20.28	17.69

Source: Government of Pakistan: Pakistan's Foreign Trade Key Indicators 1997-98.

Table 3 highlights destination-wise exports of textile and clothing in 1997-98. North America is a major market for Pakistan's exports of textile and clothing: more than 50 per cent of exports of hosiery, towels and made-ups and about 49 per cent of ready-made garments are marketed in the United States and Canada. Europe ranks second in terms of its share in Pakistan's exports of cotton fabrics, ready-made garments, hosiery, made-ups, and towels. Pakistan's exports of bedwear are mostly concentrated in Europe (50.71 per cent), while Asia accounts for a major proportion of cotton yarn exports from Pakistan (66.36 per cent).

3. Protectionist Environment in the Pre-UR Period

The global textile and clothing industry has faced one of the most regulated international trade regimes during the past several decades. To protect the domestic textile and clothing industry from foreign competition, developed countries followed restrictive trade policies in the form of high tariffs, tariff escalation, and non-tariff barriers. The incidence of protection in these sectors has been well above protection in other manufactured products in industrial countries.

Table 4

Pre-Uruguay Round Tariffs on Textiles and Clothing

Per cent

	Comparative Tariffs		Tariffs by Processing Stage			
	Textiles and Clothing	Other Manufactures	Fibres	Yarns	Fabrics	Clothing
Australia	30.0	12.5	0.0	7.0	23.5	37.0
Canada	21.5	8.5	3.0	13.0	21.5	24.0
European Union	11.5	6.0	0.5	7.0	10.5	13.5
Finland	29.0	6.0	0.5	6.5	28.5	39.0
Japan	11.5	5.5	0.5	6.5	9.5	14.0
Sweden	12.5	4.5	0.5	7.5	13.0	14.0
Switzerland	8.5	2.5	0.0	3.5	8.5	11.0
United States	19.0	5.0	3.5	9.0	11.5	22.5

Source: Goto (1988).

Pre-UR tariffs in industrial countries averaged over 18 per cent compared with an average of about 6 per cent on other manufactured products (Table 4). Tariffs on textile and clothing products have also tended to increase with the stage of processing. For example, the average tariff on fibres in industrial countries was about 1 per cent, while that on clothing was often more than 20 per cent. Such tariff escalation was intended to protect high value-added industry in the developed countries.

While tariff barriers were clearly important, the principal obstacle to trade in textiles and clothing was an array of quantitative restrictions that have persisted for decades. As early as 1961, it was decided to regulate international trade in textile and clothing products through a strict regime of export and import quotas specified in an international agreement. The Short-Term Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Textile and Clothing covered 1961-62, and this was followed by the Long-Term Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Cotton Textiles for the period 1962-73. The purpose of these arrangements was to control trade so as to avoid "market disruption" in industrial countries. In some cases, certain developing country interests also saw them as a way to share cartel-like rents. Developing countries reluctantly agreed to participate in these arrangements because they feared that the alternative would be even tighter restrictions by industrial countries imposed outside the multilateral trading system. But these arrangements proved neither temporary nor limited. They were followed by successive Multi-Fibre Agreements (MFA): a system of bilaterally negotiated agreements under a multilateral framework that restricted textile and clothing exports from developing countries to participating industrial countries.

Table 5
Estimated MFA Quota Price-Wedges

Per cent of fob price

Importers	Exporters						
	Eastern Europe	China	East Asia	South Asia	Latin America	Africa	ROW
				Textiles			
Canada	7.4	18.8	9.7	18.8	10.3	5.7	4.5
United States	6.0	15.5	8.5	15.5	8.6	4.4	3.6
European Union	8.6	21.5	11.5	21.5	12.4	6.0	5.2
EFTA	4.7	13.7	6.5	13.7	7.1	3.2	2.8
				Clothing			
Canada	12.3	29.6	17.2	29.6	17.3	6.3	7.8
United States	11.9	28.7	19.8	28.7	16.8	7.7	11.9
European Union	10.8	26.5	19.9	26.5	15.0	7.2	6.7
EFTA	6.0	18.1	12.4	18.1	8.8	3.9	3.6

Source: Francois, McDonald, and Nordstrom (1995).

The MFA covered the most important industrial country importers and developing country exporters, allotting to each an import or export quota. The MFA was intended to provide "temporary" protection to domestic textiles and clothing industries in developed countries to allow them to adjust to foreign competition, and to provide developing country exporters with "orderly" access to industrial country markets. In practice, it became semi-permanent through four successive phases: MFA I (1974-77), MFA II (1978-81), MFA III (1982-86), and MFA IV (1986-1994). The MFA included over 40 participants and covered 80 per cent of world textile and clothing exports, with around 100 bilateral restraint agreements. The extent of coverage has varied among exporting developing countries, with the severest restrictions applying to the most efficient producers. The aggregate bilateral restrictions of MFA quotas (based on estimated MFA quota price wedges) are approximately 15 per cent to 25 per cent for textiles and 25 per cent to 40 per cent for clothing (Table 5).

It is widely believed that the MFA has restricted potential imports in major industrial markets, and that growth in the volume of textile and clothing exports of developing countries has been lower because of the agreement [Cline, (1990)].

Countries that are efficient producers of textile and clothing products have been particularly vulnerable to the imposition or tightening of MFA quotas. The loss in potential export earnings of these countries is generally estimated to outweigh the quota rents that have accrued to them under the MFA. Other effects of the MFA include trade diversion to less restricted countries away from more competitive suppliers. The MFA has also caused a diversion of foreign direct investment to the textile and clothing sectors of these less restricted countries. The rigidities of the quota system under the MFA have also enabled traditional suppliers to maintain their market shares despite declining competitiveness, and thus have prevented more efficient new entrants from competing on equal terms. Moreover, the complexity of the MFA has imposed high administrative costs. In some cases, it has resulted in corruption and excessive official intervention in these sectors, while in other cases it has led to circumvention of quotas through transshipment fraud.

It must be pointed out that many developing countries, including some of the major exporters of textile and clothing products, have also resorted to extensive and very high restrictions on their imports of these products. For example, developing countries like China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan have long maintained very restrictive imports for textiles and clothing, as well as significant tariff escalation. In some cases, the restrictions are imposed for balance of payments purposes, or on grounds of "reciprocity" for treatment of their exports in industrial countries. The high incidence of restrictions in developing countries in turn has provided a platform for textile and clothing industries in developed countries to resist dismantling their own trade barriers and to call for "reciprocity" in market access.

4. The Uruguay Round Agreement

The Uruguay Round agreement on textile and clothing emerged after intensive negotiations with the developed countries on the issue of bringing international trade in textile and clothing under the normal GATT rules. The UR agreement envisages abolition of decades of discrimination and restrictions on international trade in textile and clothing through its integration into the multilateral trade discipline under GATT/WTO. The key element of the Uruguay Round agreement on textile and clothing is the phased elimination of the MFA over a ten-year transition period. The elimination proceeds in four phases, starting with the entry into force of the WTO on January 1, 1995. Importing industrial countries must initially integrate products accounting for at least 16 per cent of total (1990) import volume into the WTO, followed by an additional 17 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively, in the fourth and eighth years; the remaining 49 per cent is to be integrated at the end of ten years. It is noteworthy that the phased elimination scheme is back-loaded in that it leaves the major part of the liberalization to the end of the period. Concurrent with the integration of textile and clothing products, outstanding quotas must be initially expanded by an additional 16 per cent, over and above the growth agreed previously under the MFA; an additional 25 per cent in the next four years, and 27 per cent in the next three years. Table 6 summarizes the integration scheme for textile and clothing under the Uruguay Round agreement.

During the Uruguay Round negotiations, developing countries expressed their apprehensions that the liberalization of the more important and "sensitive" items would be pushed to the later stage of the transition. To mitigate this possibility, the final agreement requires importers to include at least one product from each of the four groups (tops and yarns, fabrics, made-up textiles, and clothing). However, since the agreement does not specify how much from each of these four categories must be liberalized at each phase of the transition period, it still leaves substantial room for discretion on the part of industrial countries in structuring their quota liberalization. There are also provisions for redistributing quotas in favour of quota-constrained and efficient exporters, and flexibility provisions (to carry over quotas across product lines and time periods) will continue to apply. Exporting countries must also commit to take anti-circumvention measures to deal with rerouting, false declaration of origin, and transshipment.

Table 6
Integration Scheme for Textile and Clothing

	Integration (based on 1990 import volume)	Growth Rate of Residual Quotas (based on previously agreed MFA growth rates of quotas)
Stage I (January 1, 1995)	16 per cent	16 per cent higher growth rate than initially
Stage II (January 1, 1998)	Further 17 per cent (total 33 per cent)	Increase by 25 per cent
Stage III (January 1, 2002)	Further 18 per cent (total 51 per cent)	Increase by 27 per cent
End of the 10-year transition period (January 1, 2005)	Remaining 49 per cent (total 100 per cent)	

Source: Francois, McDonald, and Nordstrom (1995).

The agreement establishes transitional safeguard mechanisms in case of temporary surges in imports of products not yet integrated into the WTO or products not currently restrained under the MFA. Developing countries were concerned that this provision could be abused to retain restrictions, thereby effectively negating the intent of the UR. Despite their efforts during the negotiations, they did not succeed in preventing the inclusion of this provision. But they were able to put time limits on these safeguards, which must be applied selectively and can be kept up to a maximum of three years. Also, there is less flexibility in the use of these safeguard measures against small exporters, the least developed countries, wool producers, outward processors, and cottage industries.

Table 7
Developed Country Tariff Reductions by Major Industrial Group before and after the Uruguay Round

Per cent

	Tariff Average Weighted by					
	Imports from All Sources			Imports from Developing Countries		
	Before	After	Per cent Reduction	Before	After	Per cent Reduction
All Industrial Products	6.3	3.8	40	6.8	4.3	37
Fish and Fish Products	6.1	4.5	26	6.6	4.8	27
Wood, Pulp, Paper, and Furniture	3.5	1.1	69	4.6	1.7	63
Textiles and Clothing	15.5	12.1	22	14.6	11.3	23
Leather, Rubber, Footwear	8.9	7.3	18	8.1	6.6	19
Metals	3.7	1.4	62	2.7	0.9	67
Chem. and Photographic Supplies	6.7	3.7	45	7.2	3.8	47
Transport Equipment	7.5	5.8	23	3.8	3.1	18
Non-Electricity Machinery	4.8.	1.9	60	4.7	1.6	66
Electric Machinery	6.6	3.5	47	6.3	3.3	48
Mineral Prod. and Precious Stones	2.3	1.1	52	2.6	0.8	69
Manuf. Articles n.e.s.	5.5	2.4	56	6.5	3.1	52

Source: Blackhurst, Enders, and Francois (1995).

In addition to phasing out quantitative restrictions, the UR agreement provides for an average reduction of 22 per cent in industrial countries' bound tariffs on textile and clothing products (Table 7). However, products in these sectors will continue to have a considerable number of tariff peaks (tariffs in excess of 15 per cent). After full implementation of the UR, about 28 per cent of industrial country imports of textile and clothing will remain subject to tariff peaks, compared with 35 per cent at the start of the UR (GATT, 1994). Thus, the proportional tariff cuts in this sector will be limited as compared with the average reduction (close to 40 per cent) in bound tariffs on industrial products as a whole.

5. Implications for the Textile and Clothing Sector

Implementation of the Uruguay Round agreement on textile and clothing is expected to offer significant opportunities for the expansion of developing country trade in textile and clothing. While these new opportunities on the demand side of international trade are made available to all developing countries through the principle of non-discrimination, the implications of changes in market access conditions for export opportunities may vary for different developing countries and regions. For some countries, the MFA phase-out is likely to be the single most important aspect of the UR agreement, while for others it may relate instead to tariff concessions for textiles as well as other industrial products. The MFA phase-out in itself carries different implications for different textile and clothing exporters. For the most constrained suppliers, elimination of textile and clothing quotas should imply significantly increased export opportunities in those sectors. On the other hand, less constrained suppliers may suffer from an erosion of preferences, as they are forced to compete with what had been more heavily restricted suppliers.

While the Uruguay Round agreement provides tremendous scope for export expansion in general, it also poses many challenges for textile and clothing exporters like Pakistan. Pakistan is one of the leading producers of raw cotton and this provides a strong raw material advantage for the growth of the export oriented textile and clothing industry. However, Pakistan has not been able to fully exploit its traditional edge of domestic availability of raw cotton and has not attained the optimum potential of the textile and clothing industry.[1] The low MFA quota utilization rates clearly indicate that Pakistan's textile and clothing industry is facing supply side constraints. In this scenario, the extent to which the

[1] Pakistan is among the top five cotton-producing countries in the world, but its share in world exports of textiles is only about three per cent, less than half of the share of Korea (8.6 per cent) [WTO (1997)].

country can gain from improved market access opportunities crucially hinges on the ability of its textile and clothing industry to generate a market-oriented domestic supply response. Encouragement of such a response would require a coherent strategy, involving both the private and the public sectors, to revamp all the segments of the textile and clothing industry with a view to improving its efficiency and competitiveness.

It must be emphasized that the strategy to maximize gains from improved market access should focus as much on redefining the role of the government as on restructuring the textile and clothing industry. The textile and clothing industry has traditionally grown under the umbrella of high tariffs, subsidies, concessionary finances, subsidized cotton prices and a host of other incentives that the government has been providing it from time to time. However, despite enjoying complete protection, the industry has not been able to reciprocate through improved efficiency and competitiveness and has failed to make adequate investment in quality improvement. It is widely recognized that the incentive packages alone cannot help the industry to compete in international markets, and that the export performance of the textile industry can only be improved by rationalizing its cost structure, increasing productivity, and improving the quality of the final product. Therefore, public policy must be geared to resolving the structural problems of the industry rather than to providing short-term solutions. In the following paragraphs, are discussed major policy issues that need to be addressed in order to enable the textile and clothing industry to face the future challenge of fierce global competition.

Firstly, if Pakistan wants to enhance its export earnings through textile and clothing exports, it has to improve the quality standards starting from raw cotton to finished products. Spinners maintain that a major handicap of the textile industry in producing fine counts of yarn is the low quality of domestically produced cotton. Too little research and development effort has gone into improving the quality of domestic cotton owing to which the country has not been able to develop superior varieties of long staple cotton. Therefore, to ensure the availability of good quality raw cotton to the textile industry at competitive prices, a long-term cotton policy needs to be devised with particular emphasis on developing medium and long staple varieties of cotton as well as on improving productivity through better crop management techniques. In the short term, however, the spinning sector can take advantage of the government's policy of free trade in cotton to use superior quality imported cotton for the production of higher-count yarn. On the other hand, efforts should be focused on quality improvement in fabrics and made-ups through the introduction of modern production facilities in the weaving, processing, and made-ups sub-sectors.

Secondly, there is a need to diversify the export base from the traditional cotton-based products to synthetic fibres. Pakistan's exports of textile and clothing remain heavily concentrated in cotton-based products despite a predominant share of synthetic fibres in the consumption pattern of most major markets. For example, the consumption of synthetic blends as a proportion of total consumption of different fibres in 1992 was 56 per cent in the USA, 66 per cent in Germany, and 62 per cent in Japan [World Bank, (1997)]. Thus, Pakistan has effectively shut itself out of a large part of the world market for textile and clothing products. As the demand for synthetic blends is expected to remain strong in the future, it is imperative that production capability of synthetic blends be strengthened in the country to take advantage of the growing market for man-made fibres and products.

Thirdly, the key to maximizing the gains in the emerging multilateral trade scenario is to focus on value-addition rather than on intermediate products. Pakistan has not been able to make major strides in the export of finished products and its exports remain mostly concentrated in cotton yarn and coarse fabrics. The objective of high value-addition in the textile and clothing industry cannot be achieved without creating a strong and modern weaving and processing base. The weaving capacity of the textile industry has been static at 10,000 shuttleless looms for the past many years, which is no match to the quantum jump that the industry has taken in the spinning sector. There is, therefore, a clear need to encourage the establishment of vertically integrated composite textile units comprising spindles, rotors, shuttleless and power looms, and processing facilities.

Finally, with the managed trade era in textiles due to be phased out in 2005, it is important that the domestic textile and clothing industry be prepared for a much more competitive environment, both at home as well as in foreign markets. The industry must strive to enhance competitiveness by promoting efficient utilization of resources like raw material, and financial and human capital. The strength of any industry lies as much in efficiency and productivity as in advantages arising from natural resources and factor endowments. It is, therefore, important that concerted efforts are made to attain competitiveness in all segments of the industry in terms of both unit price and product quality.

6. Concluding Remarks

The textile and clothing sector is of strategic importance to Pakistan, accounting for more than 50 per cent of its manufactured exports. The phasing-out of MFA type restrictions and other trade barriers is generally expected to have positive effects on Pakistan's exports of textiles and clothing in the long run. At the same time, however, the erosion of preferential treatment embodied in the Multi-Fibre Agreements poses many challenges to the textile and clothing industry in Pakistan. The emerging scenario of freer trade in textiles and clothing highlights the need to enhance competitiveness in this sector by improving product quality, efficiency of resource use, and productivity. Also, there is a need to advance in the reforms and liberalization of the economy, and to focus public policy towards addressing the structural problems of the textile and clothing industry with a view to enabling it to compete better in the more competitive international market.

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Appendix : Growth of Textile and Clothing Industry

Year	No. of Units	Installed Capacity: No. of Spindles (000)	Installed Capacity: No. of Looms (000)	Working Capacity: No. of Spindles (000)	Working Capacity: No. of Looms (000)	Spindle Hours (million)	Loom Hours (million)	Total Yarn Production (mln.kg)	Total Cloth Production (min.sq.mts.)
1972-73	150	3226	29	3057	27	22606.0	190.6	376.1	588.6
1973-74	155	3308	29	3034	26	23617.0	192.7	379.5	592.2
1974-75	143	3392	29	2823	25	20438.0	179.2	351.2	555.9
1975-76	127	3478	29	2579	23	20095.0	167.4	349.7	520.3
1976-77	135	3544	29	2650	19	18118.0	138.6	282.6	408.3
1977-78	140	3560	26	2680	15	19776.0	110.5	297.9	391.3
1978-79	152	3704	27	2772	14	20456.0	95.0	327.8	339.4
1979-80	149	3731	26	2841	16	21468.0	99.1	362.9	342.3
1980-81	158	3938	25	3176	13	22217.0	90.5	374.9	307.9
1981-82	155	4180	25	2944	13	22924.0	85.1	430.2	325.0
1982-83	158	4265	24	3062	14	23011.0	78.6	448.4	335.5
1983-84	162	4224	24	3020	12	23683.0	91.6	431.6	296.6
1984-85	158	4396	23	3022	10	33274.0	69.8	431.7	271.8
1985-86	160	4422	19	3158	9	24620.0	64.7	482.2	253.5
1986-87	187	4293	17	3499	9	26836.0	57.8	586.4	237.9
1987-88	197	4330	16	3690	9	29823.0	66.2	685.0	281.6
1988.89	219	4790	17	3966	9	32989.0	67.9	757.9	269.9
1989-90	236	5195	16	4416	8	36170.0	67.5	911.6	294.8
1990-91	247	5493	15	4754	8	39542.0	60.2	1041.2	292.9
1991-92	271	6141	15	5260	8	43606.0	58.8	1170.7	307.9
1992.93	284	6766	14	5433	6	46364.0	55.5	1219.0	325.4
1993-94	320	8182	14	5856	6	47221.0	44.0	1309.6	314.9
1994-95	336	8298	14	6023	6	49734.0	41.8	1369.7	321.8
1995-96	503	8709	14	6679	5	52239.0	37.1	1495.0	327.0
1996.97	503	8176	10	6455	5	53625.0	36.4	1520.8	333.5
1997-98	439	8235	10	6566	5	55005.6	37.7	1532.3	340.3
1998-99	442	8356	10	6579	5	32570.0	20.6	895.7	220.5
Growth Rates (%)									
1950s	2.85	1.77	3.26	1.93	3.28	10.45	6.58	7.01	6.92
1960s	4.50	4.70	1.55	1.05	0.42	4.46	2.52	5.88	1.88
1970s	3.12	4.07	-1.58	1.47	-5.65	1.66	-7.65	1.99	-7.01
1980s	4.56	-1.56	-4.83	3.73	-5.25	5.56	-3.21	10.37	-0.47
1990s	5.23	6.03	-5.63	4.70	-9.43	4.83	-6.46	5.68	2.17

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey: Various Issues.

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